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SEATO RECORD

Vol. X No. 6
December, 1971

- Prospects in S.E. Asia
- China and the U.N.
- Peace Corps in Thailand

SEATO

RECORD

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

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..... And baby came too. In fact most of the Meo living at Ban Song Kwae, Nan Province, Northern Thailand, attended the official opening of the new SEATO-sponsored health station which will serve their village and the surrounding area (Full story and more photographs—Pages 36-38).

Prospects in Sout and the Far

By Sir Alec Douglas-Home
(U.K. Foreign Minister)

BRITISH links with Asia and the Far East go back several centuries and have taken many forms. I believe the British contribution to the development of the countries in the region has often been underestimated. The British connexion with many of them is still valued and has, I am convinced, an important part to play.

We share with many countries, including those which were formerly under British rule, common traditions in language, education, law and political philosophy in the broadest sense. This heritage means that we have a particular responsibility to contribute to the security and prosperity of the countries of the region. We look forward to co-operating in this task with those nations with whom we share a common outlook on world problems and with whom we maintain close and cordial relations.

Without the prospect of security and political stability, the chances for the social and economic development essential to the progress of the region would be bleak indeed. The British Government is ready to assist in achieving this progress in every way it can. We have already made, and will continue to make, a solid and important contribution. The Colombo Plan, now 20 years old, was set up under British auspices and we are long-standing and active members of ECAFE and the Asian Development Bank.

British technical and economic assistance to Asian countries now runs at over £60 millions a year. British trade with Asia has played a historic role in the past. The part that trade can play in present circumstances in strengthening co-operation and reinforcing other contacts is no less important. I believe that British firms are well equipped to take a leading place in the expansion of trade and technological exchanges which we all wish to see and without which the struggle against poverty and over-population will make little headway.

It is not only in the economic and aid spheres that Britain can help. We are members of SEATO. As Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference we retain a special responsibility for the achievement through negotiations of a peaceful solution to the conflict in Indochina. But, whatever we or other friendly powers can do, I think we would all agree that it is basically for the countries of the region themselves to find solutions to the problems which confront them.

In the case of Asia the developed countries can advise, encourage and assist, but their ability to do so is limited. In the last resort the basis of a lasting stability must rest on the willingness of those immediately concerned to agree among themselves to overcome the conflicts, disputes and suspicions which stand in the way of the progress we all wish to see. It is against this background that the prospects for the future need to be seen.

DEFENCE

Regarding U.K. defence policies in South-East Asia, Britain has long-standing associations with Malaysia and Singapore and shares their interest in the stability of the area. We believe that the total withdrawal of forces planned by the previous administration would have weakened the security of Malaysia and Singapore; and that a continuing British military presence on the spot will be valuable in helping to preserve confidence in the area.

Soon after we came into office last year we proposed

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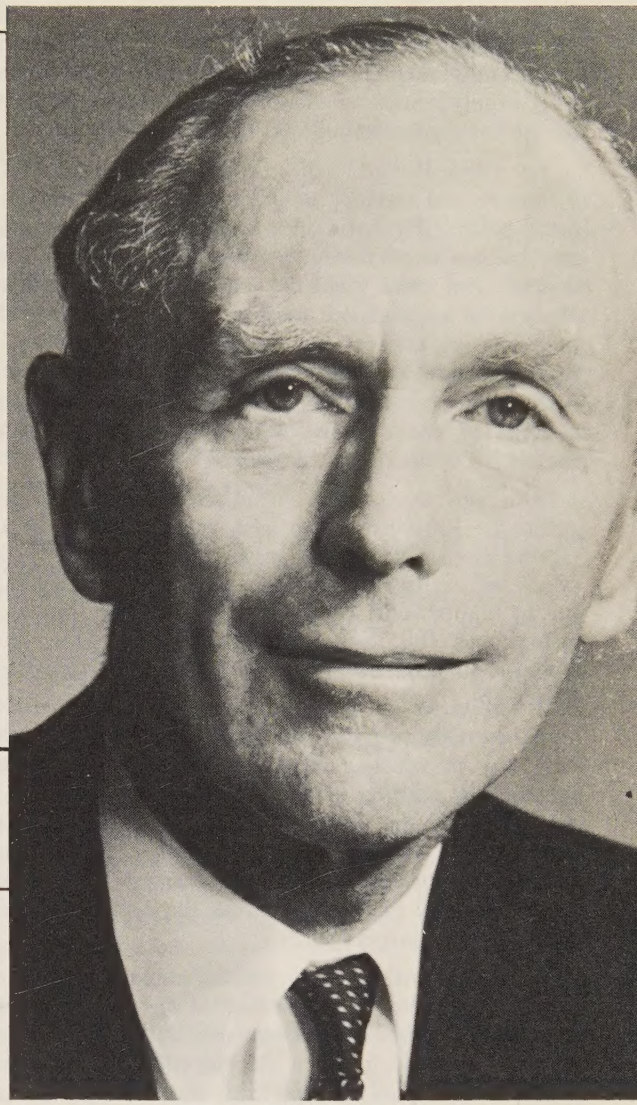


Sir Alec Douglas-Home . . . "Britain can help South-East Asia"

to the Governments of Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Singapore that five-power defence arrangements should be established which would include a contribution by British forces to match those which Australia and New Zealand were already proposing to keep in the area. We proposed that the arrangements should be based on a political commitment of a consultative nature, relating to the defence of Malaysia and Singapore, undertaken equally by all five powers. They would replace the bilateral Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement. The Governments concerned welcomed our proposals.

The forces we plan to keep in the area will constitute a small but powerful combined force, including frigates, a battalion of infantry and some supporting reconnaissance and logistic aircraft. In addition there will also be a considerable number of visits by units of all three services for jungle, air and maritime training and exercises in the area.

Ministers of the five countries met in London in April to review the progress being made and to take a number of basic decisions necessary for the establishment of the new arrangements later this year.

The new arrangements are appropriate to the political and military realities of the 1970s. We shall no longer retain large military bases in the area and British forces will no longer predominate. All five countries are subscribing to the arrangements as equal partners. Our plans to keep a modest military force on the spot demonstrate our continued interest in the area and we believe that the new arrangements will make a significant contribution to confidence and stability.

INDOCHINA

The tragic situation in Indochina springs from the determination of North Vietnam to impose her will on

South Vietnam by force. In the process, North Vietnam has dragged Laos and the Khmer Republic into the war by violating their neutral territories to provide herself with supply routes and base areas which she needs to pursue her aggression in South Vietnam.

For years, Britain has been concerned with the search for peace and stability in Indochina. Our involvement arises particularly from our responsibilities as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference which in 1954 (and again in 1961 and 1962 when the situation in Laos deteriorated) tried to guarantee the post-colonial settlement in Indochina. I believe that a similar conference could provide a suitable forum in which to work out a peaceful settlement to the present conflict. But in the Geneva context we cannot move without the co-operation of the other Co-Chairman, the Soviet Union.

Although we have on many occasions tried to persuade the Russians to join with us in reconvening the Geneva Conference, their answer has always been the same: in the Russian view the time is not appropriate for an international conference on Indochina. We must assume that this unco-operative attitude reflects their inability to influence Hanoi in favour of a negotiated settlement.

A new Geneva-style conference is not of course the only way in which a negotiated settlement might be achieved. A solution could be worked out at the Paris peace talks if the Communists so wished. These talks have been in full session since the beginning of 1969 and the Americans and South Vietnamese have shown great flexibility in trying to break the deadlock caused by Communist intransigence.

The five-point proposal which President Nixon put forward last October represented, in my opinion, a fair and reasonable basis for serious negotiations. The Communists, however, rejected this proposal out of hand without attempting to explore its possibilities and continued to insist on their two pre-conditions which the Americans and South Vietnamese could not realistically be expected to accept: first, that all American forces should be withdrawn unconditionally from South Vietnam and, secondly, that the elected South Vietnamese Government should be replaced, before fresh elections, by a coalition which they would hope to control.

On July 1, the Communists put forward in Paris a new presentation of their position. The Americans have been exploring the possibilities of these proposals. I hope that from this will at last emerge a willingness on the part of the Communists to join in real negotiations.

What then does the future hold for Indochina? The prospects for a peaceful settlement in the near future still appear regrettably remote. The Russians continue to supply the North Vietnamese with arms and say that the time for an international conference is not ripe. Other countries have encouraged Hanoi in their intransigence and have competed with the Russians to provide the North Vietnamese with a means to continue their aggressive policies.

Perhaps the main hope for eventual peace in Indochina lies therefore in the very real successes which the non-Communist countries have had in resisting Communist aggression and subversion. Security in South Vietnam has steadily improved over the past two years, and in large areas of the country, people can now go about their everyday lives in a normal manner. Under the Vietnamisation programme the capabilities of the South Vietnamese armed forces have also steadily increased and they are rapidly acquiring the ability to take over responsibility for the defence of South Vietnam with minimal outside assistance. The Khmer Government, under very difficult circumstances, has also been successful during the past year in resisting the further advance of Communist aggression. Like the Royal Laotian Government, it has courageously made every effort to preserve the integrity and neutrality of its country.

Only if the North Vietnamese finally accept that they cannot impose their will on their neighbours by force, will a negotiated settlement become feasible. And only when this happens, will peace be restored in Indochina.

CHINA

Perhaps the most important element in any review of possible developments in South-East Asia and the Far East is the problem of China. I do not think there can be any doubt that in the coming decade the Chinese People's Republic will play a key role in events in Asia. China's vast size, industrious population and immense natural resources will ensure her a major voice in shaping the future of the area. We and the Chinese have a very different conception of the kind of society in which we would like to live. But we must recognise the importance of developing a stable relationship with China in which we can discuss vital issues in a calm and reasonable atmosphere. This has been a constant aim of our policy.

We have always believed that China should be drawn more fully into the international community. When we recognised the Chinese People's Republic in January, 1950, we were the first Western nation to do so. In the past 20 years our bilateral relations have fluctuated considerably. Our vital interests are in many ways very different and it is not to be expected that we should see eye to eye on every problem. But over the past year our relations have improved markedly. We greatly welcome this development and have left the Chinese Government in no doubt at all of our desire that this steady improvement should be maintained.

We do not pretend that there are not outstanding problems on both sides. Not the least of these from our

viewpoint is the detention in China of four British subjects who worked previously for the Chinese Government for many years. I am sure that these problems can be resolved; we have already made good progress in this direction.

A development of major if not historic significance was the announcement on July 16 that President Nixon would visit China. We welcome the visit. We hope that it will contribute to the peace and stability of the region, not least in the context of the search for a settlement of the conflict in Indochina.

One of the most important issues which is likely to affect Asia is the question of the China seat in the United Nations. We believe that the Chinese People's Republic should occupy the China seat in all the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council. This is why we have voted for the Substantive Resolution, the so-called Albanian Resolution, every year since it was first tabled in 1961. In our view the absence of a country containing a quarter of the world's population is a severe handicap to a world body, which was set up to encompass the views of all states. We consider that Peking's exclusion benefits neither the United States nor China. There is little doubt that it makes the solution of many pressing world problems all the more difficult.

There are a number of deep-rooted, long-term issues such as disarmament, the seabed and pollution, on which the Chinese Government could play an important and constructive role, if they so wished. Moreover, there are many day-to-day problems on which the views of the Chinese Government could be taken more fully into account once Peking becomes a member of the United Nations.

The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has become even more immediate over the past year. When the Substantive Resolution obtained a simple majority for the first time last year, this created a new situation. Many countries have stated that they are reviewing their policy on this matter. Since last year's debate a growing number of countries have recognised the Chinese People's Republic. More seem likely to follow suit. The debate this year on Chinese representation may well prove to be an important moment in the history of the United Nations. I firmly believe that it is in the wider interests of us all that Peking should have the China seat in the Organisation.*

JAPAN

Over the past decade, Japanese economic growth in real terms has averaged over 11 per cent per annum. This is much more than for any other developed economy. The evidence points to an average growth of 10 per cent at least until 1985. At this pace the Japanese economy, already third in the world in terms of Gross National Product (GNP), will overtake that of the Soviet Union by 1985.

In terms of GNP per capita, Japanese living standards could overtake those of the U.K. in the mid-seventies and approach those of the United States by 1985. We can further expect that by 1985 Japan will overtake Britain, West Germany and the U.S. to become the world's largest trading nation. Japan's economic influence in South-East Asia and the Far East is already very much in evidence. I am convinced that given Japan's spectacular economic progress this influence will be felt even more strongly in the coming years and will be of great value to the area as a whole.

We appreciate Japan's keen interest in the stability of South-East Asia, towards which the greater part of her aid programme is directed. Total Japanese aid in 1970 amounted to US$1,800 million, or 0.9 per cent of GNP, and she has said that she hopes to achieve the UNCTAD goal of 1 per cent by 1975 at the latest. I believe that Japan will endeavour to strengthen local governments by assisting in building up their countries' economies.

The Japanese Government is convinced, and I am sure that they are right, that rising living standards will help to prevent the spread of subversion and insurgency. They have said that they will participate in any rehabilitation programme after the end of hostilities in Indochina and have also indicated their readiness to play a non-military part in the supervision of a settlement. We welcome warmly their initiative in this respect. I pay particular tribute to their part in the Djakarta Conference on Indochina last year.

As regards our own links with Japan, I cannot emphasise too strongly the importance we attach to the close relations we enjoy with Japan at all levels and in all fields, of which the annual talks that British Foreign Secretaries held with their Japanese colleagues are only one of the many signs. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 was probably the first treaty ever made between a European country and an Asian country on equal terms.

There have been problems between us since then and there have been tragedies. It would distort our view of history and our vision of the future to try and erase them from our minds. But our relations have never been closer than they are at present. A significant token of this is the visit by Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, to Britain in October this year. We must welcome the role which we are confident Japan will play in the years to come in promoting peace and stability not only in Asia but in the world in general. (Copyright *Pacific Community*–not to be reproduced elsewhere). ■

**On October 26, the United Nations General Assembly voted in favour of the admission of the Chinese People's Republic and the expulsion of Taiwan. Voting was 76 to 35 with 17 abstentions.*

China and the

Statement by SEATO Secretary-General

THE Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, General Jesus Vargas in a statement from SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, on October 28 welcomed the United Nations' decision to admit Communist China, but with equal force deplored the decision to expel Taiwan.

He said the decision had no immediate effect on SEATO. "Peking and Hanoi continue their vigorous support of subversion in South-East Asia, and therefore SEATO remains essential," the SEATO chief executive said.

General Vargas said he fervently hoped that Communist China might live up to her responsibilities as a member of the United Nations and in subscribing to the United Nations Charter. It was now up to China to renounce her support of so-called wars of liberation and her policy of fomenting subversion.

In the first place it would be relatively easy for China to give up her propaganda support of subversion in South-East Asia. These were moves which China could make to demonstrate its adherence to United Nations' principles.

Regarding the expulsion of Taiwan, General Vargas said it was regrettable that a founding member of the Organisation which was in good standing and had adhered to United Nations' principles had been expelled.

General Vargas said that as Hanoi and Peking had maintained their support for subversion in South-East Asia, the deterrent to Communist aggression represented by SEATO remained essential.

He believed that regional co-operation had as important a part as ever to play in countering Communist subversion and insurgency, and that at the same time SEATO must continue to put up its shield of defence until the threat of Communist aggression is completely eliminated. ■

United Nations

Statement by UN Secretary-General

(The following is the full text of a statement by the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, made from UN Headquarters, New York, on October 27).

The United Nations has been confronted for over 20 years with the problem of participation of the People's Republic of China. Over the years, representatives of nearly every country in the world have on many occasions expressed positions, hopes and also misgivings, of their governments concerning the solution to this fundamental problem.

The debate which we have witnessed during the last 10 days has shown very clearly that the issue is one which will involve deep emotions and strong convictions. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I have always advocated the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of this Organization, but I have also always respected, as I still do, the opinion of every Member State, even when I personally do not agree with it.

Now that the General Assembly has taken a decision, that question has been settled. Let us not lose time and energy by falling into the temptation of judging attitudes which now belong to the past, of awakening suspicions which have already been overcome. Let us unanimously and resolutely engage on a new road which opens today before us.

I solemnly appeal to all Member States to leave no room for bitterness, but on the contrary to abide by the decision of the General Assembly and endorse the tremendous step forward which has been taken last night.

I strongly believe that the presence amongst us of the People's Republic of China, which is now to become a reality, attests to a considerable improvement in the international situation, and will eventually lead to the strengthening and betterment of the Organization.

I have always said that room should be made in the United Nations for Member Governments with widely differing economic and social systems.

Now, at the close of this debate, it seems that the Organization will fulfill more fully one of the basic purposes of the Charter, 'to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.'

Whatever their sentiment as to the desirable outcome of the debate, I think almost all Member States agreed that the absence of the People's Republic of China from the Organization gave it a certain artificiality, and adversely affected its authority. The decision reached last night may enable us to solve more effectively international problems with which we are confronted. However, this will imply that no Member turns its back on the new tasks and new prospects which are now facing the international community. It is indeed necessary for our Organization to reflect the changes which occur in the international arena.

We have been gratified to see the new trends towards detente and cooperation. The bold decision made by the President of the United States to visit the People's Republic of China—therefore over-looking two decades of hostility—is one of the positive and hopeful developments which we have watched recently. Also, the readiness of the Government of the People's Republic of China to overcome long-standing fears and suspicions and to accept this dialogue, gives us a clear image of its maturity and constructiveness.

It is my hope that last night's decision by the General Assembly will be considered in the light of all these developments, and that the true statesmanship already displayed by the leaders of both sides will once again be reflected in their continued acceptance of the goals of the United Nations.

I feel sad at the departure of the members of the Permanent Mission of the 'Republic of China' from the halls of the United Nations. My personal relations with its Permanent Representative and his colleagues for the past 10 years have been very warm, and I have always held Ambassador Liu Chieh in high esteem for his great human qualities.

However, the international community through its forum has pronounced its decision, and it has to be respected. Recognition of the new role that the People's Republic of China is now playing in international life has been expressed by an ever-growing number of Member States who have normalised their relations with that country.

Last night's vote should not be considered in terms of either victory or defeat, but as an essential step towards a more effective and realistic international system.

The Twenty-Sixth Session of the General Assembly will thus have been a session of decision.

Australia's view given by Mr Bowen

• *Mr Nigel Bowen*

AUSTRALIA'S Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Nigel Bowen, told the House of Representatives on October 26 that Australia was pleased that the People's Republic of China would be enabled to be represented in the United Nations and take a seat on the Security Council.

However, it was a disappointment that the collective decision of the United Nations members had resulted in the Republic of China losing its place in the world organisation.

"As we have made plain for many months and as we have asserted in the speeches delivered in the General Assembly and by the resolutions we have co-sponsored, we have supported the representation of the People's Republic of China in the General Assembly and its occupation of the seat on the Security Council," Mr Bowen said.

Outlining Australian participation in the General Assembly debate, Mr Bowen said Australia had co-sponsored the resolution on non-expulsion of the Republic of China but this had been lost. Australia had then voted against the Albanian resolution on the admittance of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the Republic of China, but this resolution had been accepted by the assembly.

As a result, no vote was taken on another resolution which Australia had co-sponsored and which would have allowed both countries to be represented.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS

"The Government of the Republic of China remains in effective control of Taiwan, as the Government of the People's Republic also controls the mainland of China," he said. "The authority of either in their respective territories is not altered by this decision.

"We recognise, however, that the People's Republic of China claims sovereignty over Taiwan and the mainland, and the Republic of China claims sovereignty over Taiwan and the mainland.

"We do not expect an early resolution of these conflicting claims. Our great and continuing desire is to see all countries in the region live in peace and we shall, in our policies, continue our efforts towards that end.

"We shall continue pursuit of our dialogue with the People's Republic of China with a view to the progressive normalisation of our relations with them." ■

China and Asia

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas addressed members of the Defence Orientation Conference Association (U.S.) at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, on November 4. The full text of his address begins on the facing page; below is a summary of the main points from his speech—

1. The People's Republic of China should not be expected to reduce its support of subversion and insurgency in South-East Asia in the foreseeable future. Regional co-operation will play as important a part as ever in countering covert Communist aggression.

2. Although, for the foreseeable future, the strategy of China will be one of encouraging and supporting "people's wars", and of further developing its strategic nuclear forces, there is hope that China will in due course renounce such support.

3. The United States and the Free World must take the initiative for the establishment of a truly meaningful *detente* with Communist China, but at the same time must be prepared to continue to assist Asian nations whose security is imperilled by Chinese subversive or other covert action.

4. Finally, the United States must continue to be concerned with preventing a major shift in the balance of power in the region between the Free World and the Communist States. America must not only possess sufficient deterrent power at all times but must also make it clearly understood that it shall not hesitate to apply to or withhold from the situation so much of that power as is necessary to offset any impending major shifts in the existing balance.

Security

"We in SEATO are honoured that you of the Defence Orientation Conference Association have continued to visit us annually. We realise that through these visits a large important segment of the American public is given a better understanding of occurrences in this part of the world, the pivotal role which America plays in Asian affairs, and the general military posture of your great country in this region.

We recognize your genuine concern for the security of Asia, and we in SEATO are constantly being encouraged by your visits. I am very much pleased, therefore, to be able to welcome you once again to these headquarters.

I do not propose to dwell on all aspects of the security problems of Asia. I should like to confine my talk to the implications to Asian security of China's new role as a full-fledged member of the United Nations.

The United Nations' decision, passed by an overwhelming vote of 76 to 35 with 17 abstentions, puts the Chinese Communists in the position of having now to show the world that they wanted world understanding, that they favoured world organization as a means for the attainment of peace, and were willing fully to contribute to it. The decision takes out of its isolation from the rest of the world—an isolation which was both self-imposed and externally imposed—roughly one-fourth of mankind.

From all indications, the general reaction to the decision abroad has been satisfaction at Peking's admission to the Organization, tempered in some cases (as in the case of the United States, Japan and the Philippines) by regret at the ouster of Nationalist China. It is too early, I think, to assess the full impact of the UN decision. However, I feel personally that the UN vote is likely to have the following immediate effects:

(a) More countries will recognise Peking and break off relations with Taipei; although bruited about many months before, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Belgium and the People's Republic of China was formalized within hours of the UN action; this will give the PRC an embassy in Brussels near NATO Headquarters and the central offices of the European Economic Community. Only the other day, Peking announced that it had established diplomatic relations with the Peruvian Government;

(b) With the PRC in the United Nations, other countries which want better relations with Peking but formerly were afraid of antagonizing Washington, will now pursue improved relations with China;

(c) In Japan, there will be new pressures on the Government of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, which co-sponsored the unsuccessful US resolution, by critics who contend that the Government had followed the United States too closely;

(d) In Taiwan, there will be increased pressure on President Chiang Kai-shek to give native Taiwanese a voice in the Government; the vote assails the Nationalist Government' s claim that it represents all China and that it cannot hold national elections in Taiwan because it cannot also hold them on the mainland; trade between Taiwan and other countries in the region is likely to be adversely affected by the UN decision;

(e) The People' s Republic of China should not be expected to reduce its support of subversion and insurgency in South-East Asia in the foreseeable future. Regional cooperation will play as important a part as ever in countering covert Communist aggression;

(f) The United States Government will very likely take determined measures to resist any attempts to undermine the U.S. role in the United Nations, and will try to strengthen its influence over uncommitted member states from Asia, Africa and Latin America; U.S. and Soviet influence in the UN will be somewhat curtailed by Peking's presence;

(g) Although the UN decision was a "defeat" for the United States, which has spearheaded the move over the past many years to block the admission of the People's Republic of China into the world body, it means that Peking will have one less obstacle to bring up when President Nixon visits China early next year;

(h) The United States will probably take measures to reaffirm its existing diplomatic and commercial commitments to the Nationalist Chinese; and

(i) It is possible that the UN decision may lead the USSR to make further overtures to Peking.

One cannot speak of China and of its new role in international affairs without perforce dwelling on the realities of its military capacity. After all, the concept of security—that is, security from military threats and from Communist subversion—has been a major ingre-

dient in the foreign policies not only of the free countries of Asia but also of the United States and other Free World powers.

That China is proceeding with some progress with its nuclear development programme is prudent to assume. Although one cannot say precisely how fast the programme is moving, we do know that its main thrust at the moment is in developing amply the delivery means available o the Chinese. We are also aware that China is not like y to pursue for this purpose an intercontinental bomber system, which is expensive and which is already obsolete in both the Soviet Union and the United States.

This, of course, leaves other options, such as ballistic missiles of the 1,000-nautical mile range, a seaborne delivery system equipped with missiles, and an ICBM system which experts liken to your own *Minuteman* in the United States. Another option, which cannot be discounted, is clandestine delivery means to which, however, it would probably be necessary to resort in conjunction with one or more of the other systems.

Western experts appear wedded to the view that China has gone to the ICBM system and that China has in fact already attained some progress in it. These same experts reasonably estimate that, by the mid-1970s, China could have a few dozen ICBM missiles, and a fairly large stockpile of 1,000-mile missiles which Peking might foolishly believe it could employ to harass and blackmail its Asian neighbours.

As we are all aware, the three services, particularly the army and, to a lesser extent, the navy and the air force, have been devoting a large portion of their time, energies and manpower to operating or otherwise overseeing essential civilian services. As a consequence, there has been a progressive, severe diminution in the combat capabilities of China's ground forces.

China is known to be incapable, at least for the next 10 to 15 years, of developing complex and expensive strategic systems, such as airborne and amphibious ones. The ability of China to project its conventional military power beyond immediate peripheral areas is marginal, and this ability is further impaired by well-known constraints of terrain and logistics.

We in SEATO are of the view that, for the foreseeable future, the strategy of the People's Republic of China will be one of encouraging and supporting "people's wars", and of further developing its strategic nuclear forces. It is my very great hope that, following its acceptance of a seat in the United Nations and in the powerful Security Council—an indication by itself of some relaxation in its heretofore inveterate, hostile attitude to the concept of peaceful co-existence—China will in due course renounce its support of subversion and insurgency in the developing countries of Asia.

In the light of these recent developments, what then are the tasks before the United States and her allies in this troubled part of the world?

The United States and the Free World must take the initiative for the establishment of a truly meaningful *detente* with Communist China.

There are today dire predictions, arising obviously from a general awareness of the inherent rigidity of the Maoist policies that have attended Communist Chinese behaviour over the past many years, that the United States cannot hope to achieve an enduring and useful detente with the Chinese. I do not share this defeatist view.

Take the case of the United States and the Soviet Union. Although Russian policies were never known to be as rigid as Red China's in their relations with the Western powers, the fact remains that the Soviet Union and the United States assumed irreconcilable positions on many issues and events.

In the years following the end of World War II, both nations often came up to the brink, backed away from it in time and created a kind of situation which although uneasy nonetheless permits them to live in the world together. And this, without any truly close associations, without liking each other very much, and with a great many serious conflicts. If such a working arrangement is possible between the Russians and the Americans, it can be achieved as well with the Chinese.

This is not to say that the Americans should accommodate the Chinese at the expense of the security of her traditional friends and allies in South-East Asia. Indeed, any accommodation between the two countries must not operate to jeopardize the freedom and the stability of the developing countries and of the region as a whole. Unless and until Communist China renounces, by word and deed, its support of 'wars of national liberation', the free countries of Asia must maintain a posture that pre-empts all Chinese initiatives in the fields of subversion and insurgency. More specifically, the United States must be prepared to continue to assist Asian nations whose security is imperilled by Chinese subversive or other covert action. Such assistance must be mainly non-military, and designed to achieve progress and social order of such quality as to render the Chinese alternative unacceptable to the developing countries of the region.

In respect of Taiwan, the American role, I think, must be one of preventing the seizure of Taiwan or any other resolution by force of Taiwan's status. Central to this view is the necessity, more than ever, for the United States to maintain its treaty with Taiwan and deal with that Government as it has in the past. Indeed, it would be calamitous, to say the least, in terms of the trust and confidence which the developing countries of Asia repose in the United States as the leader of the Free World, if the Americans now turned

A party of the members of the United States Defence Orientation Conference Association visited SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, recently for briefings and discussions on the Organization's role and activities. Here SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas (extreme right) and Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop (second from right, back to the camera) are seen welcoming Mr. Philip Jones, Executive Vice President of the Association, Mr. J.N. Horrokos, Jr., Executive Director, and Mr. Richard Drukker, Past President.

their backs on Taiwan and left it to the mercies of Peking.

Furthermore, any depreciation in the posture of the Nationalist Government on Taiwan is bound to have telling effects on the morale and the loyalties of the over 15 million Overseas Chinese, many of them found in the free countries of the region.

What I am trying to say is that the threat posed by Communist China to the stability of South-East Asia would have to be taken more seriously if United States power were withdrawn from Taiwan and the Western Pacific or even reduced substantially. And there is, to my mind, no reason why Taiwan cannot continue to be the stable and prosperous country which it has been in recent years, whether in the United Nations or out of it.

The admission of the People's Republic of China into the world organization, as well as the current rapprochement between China and the United States, paves the way for this Communist giant's involvement in initiatives aimed at eventual arms control. Every effort should be exerted soonest to bring about such an involvement of so great a power in so crucial a project as arms limitation. At no time has it been more clearly demonstrated that no nuclear control arrangement or arms limitation agreement is adequate without the participation of Communist China.

Finally, the United States must continue to be concerned with preventing a major shift in the balance of power in this part of the world.

The still raging Sino-Soviet conflict, the development by China of a nuclear capacity, the success attained by the developing countries of Asia and the Western Pacific, the growth of regionalism among those States, the increasing Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean and the likelihood of similar increased Soviet activity in the Far East, the planned reduction of American military presence in Asia and involvement in Asian affairs—all these represent factors which could influence, in various forms and in varying degrees, the crucial balance of power in the region between the Free World and the Communist states.

This balance, more than anything else, has been mainly responsible for the relative peace that has prevailed in Asia in the past two-and-a-half decades.

The aim in the next several years, I suggest, should be to ensure that, in the interplay of the various forces attending the Asian scene, the present crucial power balance is not tipped heavily to either side. This thesis suggests that without in any way appearing to police the world, America must not only possess sufficient deterrent power at all times but must also make it clearly understood that it will not hesitate to apply to or withhold from the situation so much of that power as is necessary to offset any impending major shifts in the existing balance.

This suggests, in turn, that the United States strengthen its security arrangements, both bilateral and multilateral, for only in the context of those arrangements could it legitimately undertake and fulfil so vital and inalienable a responsibility to mankind.

Vietnam

All-round progress in Vietnamization Programme

WHEN Richard Nixon became President of the United States in January 1969, the U.S. "philosophy in Vietnam was one of American takeover; the philosophy now is one of American turnover and that programme is going well and the Vietnamese are accepting their responsibilities."

That is what U.S. Defence Secretary Melvin Laird told newsmen on November 8 upon returning to Washington after an inspection trip to South Vietnam. His assessment of the Vietnamization Programme is borne out by a recent Defence Department analysis.

Noting that the war's intensity has declined steadily since 1968, the Defence Department report said enemy attacks in the first half of 1971 were 47 per cent below those in the first half of 1968, and harassments were off 38 per cent. Vietcong terrorism this year is running 30 per cent lower than last year, the report added.

The Defence Department pointed out that "active fighting in populated areas...is now a rare occurrence, in sharp contrast to the situation in 1968."

More and more people are moving back to the countryside, the Department said, "and for good reason, as a result of better security, there have been real economic and social gains." Among them:

Over 500,000 acres of land have been distributed to the people under the Land Reform Programme;

In the last crop year, the South Vietnamese harvested the largest rice crop in their history;

The active refugee case load is about 40 per cent of that at the end of 1968;

Over 2,000 of South Vietnam's 2,300 villages are operating under elected local governments;

The rate of inflation is about nine per cent this year, compared with the "30 per cent per year that prevailed in the past."

The Defence Department cited the following figures to indicate declining U.S. military involvement:

1. U.S. war costs have declined over 50 per cent from the peak spending levels of 1968;
2. U.S. troop levels have declined 60 per cent since April, 1969, when American strength was at its peak (the decline will be at least 65 per cent by December 1 when authorized troop strength will be no more than 184,000);
3. U.S. casualty rates have declined about 90 per cent since April, 1969;
4. Ammunition expenditures in all of South-East Asia have declined 47 per cent since 1968;
5. In the fiscal year 1971 (ended last June 30), U.S. tactical air sorties throughout South-East Asia stood at less than half the peak levels of fiscal year 1969; B-52 sorties were about 60 per cent of the fiscal year 1969 peaks.

As part of the Vietnamization Programme, the United States has turned over great quantities of material to South Vietnam. The Defence Department gives this tabulation:

Over 910,000 small arms and crew-served weapons;
Over 45,000 wheeled vehicles;
Over 775 helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft;
Over 45,000 radios;
Over 2,100 artillery pieces and tanks;
Over 940 navy craft, including two destroyer escorts.

The Defence Department also reported that training of South Vietnamese military personnel in the United States expanded from about 1,500 in the fiscal year 1967 to 7,900 in fiscal year 1971. The fiscal year 1970 total was 7,600. ■

FROM THE PRESS

The Role of SEATO

"THE leaders of international Communism seldom miss a chance to cause trouble. They switch their tactics cunningly, sometimes it is open war, sometimes subversion to undermine governments from within.

Here in Southeast Asia they have tried everything. In Vietnam the pressures are easy for the world to see; in other countries, like Thailand they are more subtle with the emphasis on quiet infiltration. No matter what the political pundits may say, the Red Dragon is keen to spread its wings.

And that is why it is reassuring to know that SEATO, which was set up under a collective defence system specifically to ensure security in the Eastern countries, should come out so strongly, as it did yesterday in its annual conference [sic] in Bangkok, about the need for tough measures.

SEATO was formed to counter the threat of communist aggression and subversion in the area. When that threat has been eliminated, SEATO will be superfluous—but not until then. Thailand has its own communist suppression organisation, and quite rightly so, but it still needs the collective assistance of other countries. The communist menace here is very real because of the geographical proximity of both Communist China and North Vietnam. In fact, it was persistent communist pressure that prompted Thailand to join in the building of SEATO in 1954.

The organisation has been called a "toothless bulldog"—but it is certainly the most effective means of preserving its member countries' national sovereignty."

—*"Bangkok World," October 2.*

SEATO Diary

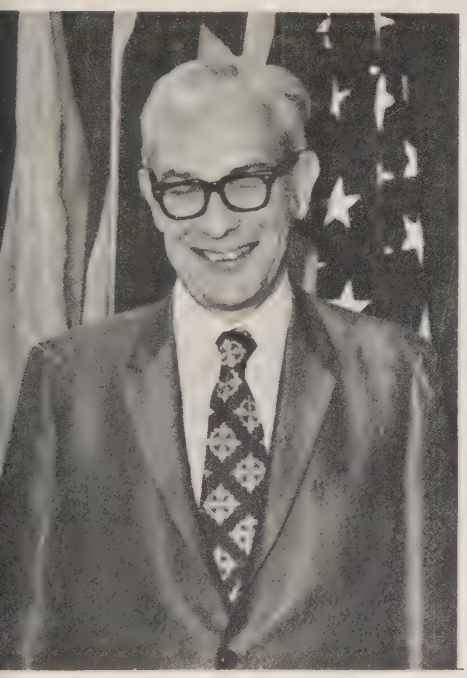
Twenty-five students from the International Relations Class of the International School, Bangkok, visited SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, for civil and military briefings on SEATO activities. Later some of the students called on SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas in his office. Seen (left to right): SEATO Director of Public Information W.J. Kramer; Frederick Ho, Marie Lanser, Mrs. Margaret Sanders (ISB teacher), General Vargas, and Jim Reilly.

A recent visitor to SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok, Miss Juhuria I. Asama of the Philippines, is pictured being congratulated by SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and Mr. Hugh Docherty, SEATO Director of Cultural and Economic Affairs. Miss Asama has won a SEATO post-graduate scholarship under the 1970-71 programme and was on her way to work for a Master's Degree in Social Work at Karachi University.

A graduate of Centro Escolar University, Manila, Miss Asama has been working as a statistician in the Commission on National Integration, Western Mindanao-Sulu Region.

Enjoying a get-together at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, are Mrs. Kamploy Snidvongs of the SEATO Office of Cultural and Economic Affairs (left) and Miss Adeltrudis M. Cruz, a SEATO scholar from the Philippines.

Miss Cruz joined Kasetsart University, Bangkok, on a SEATO Scholarship in 1969 and has now completed her Master's Degree in Agricultural Education. She returned to the Philippines in October.



Environmental improvement was one of the subjects discussed when Mr. A. Hayward (above) recently called on SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop at SEATO HQ, Bangkok. Mr. Hayward, who is Assistant Director, Environmental and Life Sciences, US Defence Department, spent a week in Thailand in connexion with a study for the National Academy of Science. His itinerary included a visit to Chiang Mai to observe research work on Japanese encephalitis being carried out by teams from the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory in collaboration with Thai health authorities.

The roles and influence of foreign advisers of Thailand during the late 19th and early 20th centuries is the subject of research to be undertaken by Mrs. Valai na Pompejr (below left), Senior Lecturer in History, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, under the SEATO Research Fellowship scheme. Discussing the project with her is M.R. Subijja Sonakul of the SEATO Office of Cultural and Economic Affairs. Mrs. Valai left Bangkok on October 28 for Paris where she will spend two months working on documents at the Foreign Ministry and the National Library. Also on her SEATO-sponsored itinerary are the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London, and the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels.

DEFENCE

'SEATO Essential for Peaceful Progress in S.E. Asia'

SEATO's Military Advisers believe that SEATO is still a valid defence concept which is essential to peaceful progress in South-East Asia. They re-affirmed this view in the Communique issued after their two-day conference which closed in Bangkok on October 1. The following is the full text of the Communique.

'The 35th Conference of the Military Advisers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization ended at the Headquarters of the Organization today. The conference Chairman was Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton, Military Adviser for New Zealand.

The Military Advisers fully recognized the need to keep up SEATO's military potential and to go on improving SEATO's capability to counter Communist military and para-military efforts within the Treaty area. They reaffirmed their view that SEATO is a valid defence concept which is essential to peaceful progress in South-East Asia.

Military Ad

The Secretary-General of SEATO, H.E. General Jesus Vargas, addressed the conference on the political situation in South-East Asia. He welcomed the resumption of a dialogue between the United States and the Chinese People's Republic as having diminished international tension and mentioned the hope of free Asians that this initial *detente* would lead eventually to some appreciable relaxation by Peking of its past aggressive tendencies. However, the Secretary-General emphasised the need for continuing efforts to counter subversion and insurgency which are common threats to the free countries of Asia.

The Chief of the Military Planning Office, Major General R.A. Hay, reported to the Military Advisers on the progress that has been made in SEATO military planning and further developing military procedures since the last meeting.

sers hold 35th Conference

BEFORE attending their 35th Conference, SEATO's Military Advisers made a two-day tour of Thailand where they met senior civilian officials and the military commanders in North and North East Thailand.

The Military Advisers were briefed on the security situation with special reference to Communist insurgency and counter measures. They also went along a stretch of the Mekong River on a patrol launch of the Mekong River Operations unit, (see photograph left).

During a ceremony held on September 29 to mark the opening of the conference, the flags of SEATO member nations and that of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization were unfurled.

Among those attending the ceremony were the Military Advisers, the SEATO Secretary-General, Lieutenant General Jesus M. Vargas, and the Chief, Military Planning Office, Major General R.A. Hay.

The United States Military Adviser, Admiral John S. McCain Jr., reviewed the current situation in Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. He reported that Vietnamization was progressing ahead of schedule while enemy capabilities have declined steadily.

Admiral McCain drew the Military Advisers' attention to concerted Soviet efforts in recent years, designed to project their influence and achieve the global power status they have long sought. The Admiral substantiated his presentation with specific examples of increased Soviet political, economic, military and psychological activities throughout the world.

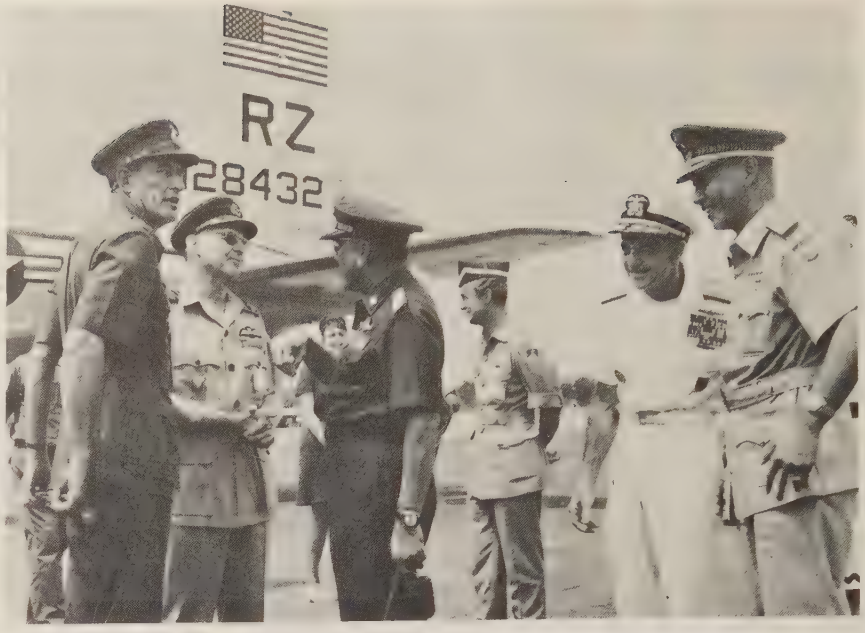
Describing the policy as a "Strategic Island Concept," he said that this insidious strategy was aimed at the establishment of both land and sea centres from which the Soviet Union would be able to project its power, utilizing a leap-frogging technique.

Admiral McCain reassured the conference that in keeping with the Nixon Doctrine, the United States will continue to remain a Pacific Power, will continue to provide assistance programmes and will honour Treaty commitments with Pacific allies.

In speaking about the state of Communist subversion and insurgency in his country, the Philippines Military Adviser, General Manuel T. Yan, pointed out that the Communist movement continues to pose a threat to national security.

In the past two years, both opposing factions of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Maoist-oriented faction with its military component the "New People's Army" (NPA) and the Soviet-inclined traditional faction, have stepped up organizational and expansionist activities with the Maoist faction gaining more ground in subversion and insurgency.

While the threat remains mainly subversive, the Communists, particularly the Maoists, have continued



Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett, (second from left) Commander-in-Chief Far East and the United Kingdon's Military Adviser to SEATO talking to Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, Thailand's Military Adviser, on his arrival at Nakhon Phanom in North East Thailand. Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett was visiting Thailand to attend the Military Advisers' 35th Conference. Shown with him are Lt. Gen. Sir Leonard Thornton, New Zealand (left), Admiral John S. McCain, United States, Commander-in-Chief Pacific (second from right), and Gen. Manuel T. Yan, Philippines (right).

violence, raids, ambushes, liquidations and other terrorist activities.

Counter-insurgency operations have forced the Communists to move their activities from Central Luzon to Isabela in Northern Luzon.

To neutralize the Communist subversive and insurgent activities, General Yan stated that the Philippine Government, particularly the Armed Forces of the Philippines have been taking effective counter measures mainly through infrastructure and civic action programmes complemented, where necessary, by military operations.

The Military Adviser for Thailand, Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, addressed the conference on the security situation in Thailand. He confirmed that Communist terrorist activities were continuing mainly in the border areas of Thailand. He explained that these terrorists were receiving aid in the form of weapons, medicine and propaganda material, quantities of which had been captured, from outside Thailand.

He went on to indicate how the Pakbeng Road, which was built by the Chinese and runs from China through Laos towards Thailand, provides the Communists with a good line of communication for infiltrating and supporting terrorist activities in the North and North East of Thailand.

Finally, Air Chief Marshal Dawee confirmed that the Communist Suppression Operations Command was undertaking operations to counter this subversion and insurgency. These counter measures, which have achieved some notable successes, were aimed at limiting subversive activity and infiltration into Thailand.

At the end of the conference, Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya of Thailand spoke on behalf of his colleagues and thanked both the retiring Military Advisers for New Zealand and the United Kingdom for their great contribution to SEATO. He congratulated Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton on his skill and understanding as Chairman of this Conference and praised his extensive knowledge of SEATO affairs and of this part of the globe.

The next meeting is to be in Canberra next year. The Military Advisers attending the Conference were:

Admiral Sir Victor Smith, KBE, CB, DSC, Chairman of the Australian Chiefs of Staff Committee;

Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton, KCB, CBE, Chief of the New Zealand Defence Staff;

General Manuel T. Yan, AFP, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines;

Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, Chief of Staff, Supreme Command, Royal Thai Armed Forces;

Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett, GCB, DFC, AFC, ADC, BA, RAF, United Kingdom Commander-in-Chief, Far East; and

Admiral John S. McCain Jr., USN, United States Commander-in-Chief, Pacific.

The Pakistan Military Adviser's Representative, Colonel Mujib Ur-Rehman Khan, PA, attended the conference as an observer.

PAF's Fighter Pilots Win Safety Award

By Hermil B. Bunao

The peak of efficiency is achieved by 5th Fighter Wing pilots through constant training. Here pilots prepare for takeoff.

THE Philippine Air Force (PAF) is one of the most safety conscious air forces in Asia, offering a yearly incentive—the Menzi Award—to enhance aircraft accident prevention among PAF tactical units.

Last year the award went to the 5th Fighter Wing, which will come as a surprise to those people who know of the Wing's mode of operation.

The 5th Fighter Wing in Basa Air Base, Floridablanca, Pampanga, is the home of the finest jet fighter pilots of the Philippines. Twenty-two years old, the Wing is the country's front-line defence against air attack and invasion.

Burned into the memory of every officer and man of the 5th Fighter Wing are 365 days crammed with hectic schedules for air operations, training and air defence activities. Theirs is the extremely arduous task of providing sunrise-to-sunset watch over Philippine skies, backed up by a network of

countrywide radar "antennas" for instant, precision manoeuvres.

The unit has consistently attained 97 per cent annual proficiency and squeezed into its tight programme the training of combat-efficient jet pilots to boost the country's air defence capability.

Jet fighter pilots must necessarily be the most exposed to accidents. Consider the risks they take: a fighter pilot climbs at a speed faster than sound to some 50,000 feet to meet an assumed enemy; conversely, he dips to 50 feet short of the earth according to tactical operational manoeuvre requirement in skip bombing. Have you ever seen an ace pilot shoot his jet straight to the tips of heaven, then plummet to the ground, like an eagle on the dip?

That is how a 5th Fighter Wing pilot simulates a skip dive.

To all fighter pilots, transport plane flying offers no comparison to the piloting of the mosquito-like F-5s. A transport plane's crew consists of a pilot, navigator, radio operator and crew chief. A fighter aircraft has a single seat and the pilot carries out all functions.

Of the programmed 14,217 flying hours in 1968, the Wing flew 11,390 hours which represents 80 per cent of the programmed goal. The flights were made for various purposes under such colourful headings as "hot scrambles," "fly-bys" and "blue diamonds." The Wing was also involved in war-exercises, test flights and reconnaisance.

The Philippine Air Force is constantly beefing up its training capability to cope with requirements of the country's updated air weapons system. The Philippines shifted from propeller-driven to jet aircraft in 1955.

Noticeable in the present-day weaponry of the PAF is the inclusion of a wide variety of planes such as T-33 jet trainers (T-birds), F-86F (Sabrejet) fighters, F-86D all-weather interceptors, needle-nosed F-5A supersonics, and F-5Bs two-seat trainers. The latter is highly prized because it is easy to maintain and has a firepower equivalent to that of one regiment.

The Philippine Air Force has nine main components: the 1st Air Division, Airlift Division (newly created), 580th Aircraft Control and Warning Wing, the 5th Fighter Wing, 100th Training Wing, 205th Composite Wing, the PAF Depot, 560th Composite Tactical Wing and the 520th Air Base Wing.

Recently intensified were the operations of Basa Air Base's Physiological Training Unit to train crew members on the use of oxygen equipment in high altitude flight—another safety measure. This kind of training is mandatory for aircraft pilots who fly above 10,000 feet.

There are only two military establishments in the Far East handling physiological training for air defence. One is Kadena Air Force Base in Okinawa. The other is Basa Air Base in Floridablanca, Pampanga, in the Philippines.

Water survival and jungle survival were also added to the training curriculum for 5th Fighter Wing pilots to acquaint them with the hazards they are likely to encounter when they are grounded as a result of an air mishap. ■

• *A fleet of helicopters backs up Philippine Air Force's air power. War exercises under conditions similar to those obtaining in Vietnam are conducted to gauge helicopter pilots' capability during times of emergency.*

ABOVE: Philippine Defence Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile (third from left) views with other armed forces officials recently-acquired air-to-ground armaments for the PAF's F-5A jet fighter planes like the one shown in the background.

RIGHT: Aircraft engineering has been thoroughly mastered by 5th Wing personnel.

PANORAMA

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By A Special Correspondent

Co-operative projects are bringing light to the Barrios

THERE can be no real progress in the rural Philippines without ample electrification. The government is aware of the problem and is moving heaven and earth to free the farmlands, the main source of the nation's wealth, from the sorry grip of gas and generator.

Japan today is 98 per cent electrified. And so is Taiwan. Singapore has registered a 403 kilowatt-hour consumption a year since 1963, while Malaysia is capable of 180 KWH/yr.

The Philippines, as late as 1967, could boast of only 126 KWH/yr consumption rate.

The gravity of the problem lies in the fact that of every 16 Filipino homes in the countrysides 15 do not have electricity. According to a recent survey, the Philippines has 32,772 barrios, 66 provinces, five sub-provinces, 1,418 towns and 60 chartered cities. A mere 23 per cent of all homes in these localities have electricity and of these more than two thirds are located only in population centres.

Imagine when darkness falls!

For lack of adequate electric power the Philippines, despite its long history of agricultural economy, still has to import rice and other staples from neighbouring countries. Irrigation and farm mechanization cannot be fully availed of. Also pining in powerlessness are rural industries utilizing electrical energy for their operations. As a consequence, the standard of living in the rural areas is rather low and deficient.

But with the advent of the National Electrification Administration, a creation of Republic Act 6038, passed two years ago, this economic ill is becoming a thing of the past. Earlier, electric power in the barrios was largely supplied by small generating units with limited capacities and limited only in the *poblaciones*. The long-range rural electrification programme of the present Administration, using the NEA as the implementing agency, is aimed at totally providing the whole country with electricity under an "area coverage" system.

This means that huge power plants, each servicing from 10 to 15 towns or more, including their barrios and sitios, will be set up and operated non-stop 24 hours a day.

The National Electrification Administration underwrites the construction of the power plants. With its resolving fund which is expected to amount to some 300 million in ten years, the NEA is a primarily lending institution for public entities. It gives preference to co-operatives for the construction of electric plants on area coverage basis.

The agency has proposed a one-billion peso electrification programme covering three-and-a-half years. It is enlisting the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development to accomplish its goals.

Nowhere in South-East Asia is the idea of self-help for community development more vigorously practised than in the Philippines. In the task of spreading to its villages and countrysides the benefits of electric power, the country is returning to a familiar method—the co-operative way. Funds are distributed among small groups of rural inhabitants, organized among themselves. Electric po-

WER FOR

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wer plants made possible through NEA's help are managed and owned by these co-operatives.

Forming people's co-operatives is easy.

First, the rural folk organize themselves into an association for a specific objective, in this case, for establishing an electric plant for their locality.

The association, then seeks the advice of the Co-operatives Administration Office (CAO) which gives guidance on how the people can form a legally constituted co-operative. Each member of the co-operative buys shares of stocks.

A minimum of P10 (about US$1.55) per share is required of each member, until the required amount of P5,000 is obtained.

The co-operative is then registered with the CAO. The body then applies for a loan with the NEA to finance the installation of an electric plant, and for a franchise with the Public Service Commission.

The moment the loan is secured, the NEA takes charge of the building of the electric plant, and the technical guidance during the first 365 days of operation of the co-operative.

Each loan has a life span of from 25 to 35 years at a three per cent annual interest. To protect its investment, the NEA requires the co-operative to mortgage the electric system, including the franchise, to the NEA. The co-operative begins paying its amortization to the electrification agency only on the third year of continuous operation.

The Administration of President Ferdinand E. Marcos has approved loans amounting to P6,720,704. Additionally, exactly P6,157,339.21 have been released in the form of loans for rural electrification.

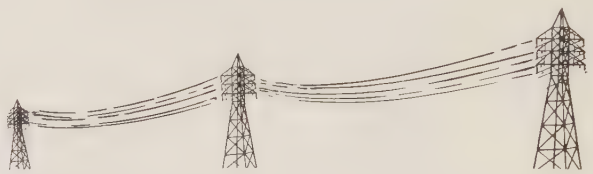
Within the next three years, the government hopes to raise some P188 million to finance its nationwide electrification programme. The programme consists of establishing 217 electrification projects in the different regions of the country. It also covers the underwriting of more and more electric service co-operatives.

The movement is catching.

Assured of government support, municipalities throughout the country are spearheading co-operatives purposely to get the tremendous benefits of electricity, not only for agricultural productivity but for the development of their rural industries as well. Electricity may be just the financial shot in the arm the rural communities need to lift them from the fiscal doldrums.

Already, projects encompassing almost half of the length and breadth of the archipelago have been launched.

Two of these are the Victorias-Manapla-Cadiz Rural Electric Service Co-operative (VRESCO) in Negros Occidental, and the Misamis Oriental Rural Electric Service Co-operative (MORESCO) in Northern Mindanao.



Aside from the VRESCO and the MORESCO projects, several others are being pushed through by the NEA. These are:

The Talim Electric Co-operative, Inc., to service Talim Island off Laguna de Bay, and the municipalities of Cardona and Binangonan in Rizal province. Project cost is estimated at P2.4 million.

The Leyte del Norte Electric Co-operative, earmarked to supply the needs of the Municipalities of Sante Fe, Pastana, Dagami, Tolosa, Dulag, Majorca, La Paz, Burauen, Tabon-Tabon and Julita in Leyte province. Project cost may reach over P25 million.

The Lake Lanao Project in Lanao del Sur for 22 municipalities bordering the Lake is expected to cost some P20 million. The Southern Cotabato Project for five municipalities in Marbel, South Cotabato. Cost: P15 million.

Government Report, a Malacanang newspaper, summarizes the entire affair in a paragraph: "Today rural electrification is no longer a distant dream. Its gradual fulfillment, evident everywhere, reflects the steady efforts of the Administration to bring light, in more than one sense, to a large portion of the country that modern progress had previously bypassed and left in the gloom of stagnation".

Vietcong Defector Tells His Story

Nguyen Van-Phe, a Vietcong for ten years, defected from the North Vietnamese Communists when he was assistant commander of a sapper company in the highland province of Darlac, South Vietnam. Here he relates why he defected from the Communist Vietcong movement.

I had been with the Vietcong for nearly a decade when I witnessed an extraordinary development, which was to give me many disturbing thoughts and finally prompt me to change sides.

I was with the K.39 Battalion when my company mounted an attack on the headquarters of an ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) unit and a village called Trung Hoa in the province of Darlac. We had made intensive preparations for this attack and our commanders had promised us something like a fifty-fifty chance of victory. But when we started assaulting the ARVN position, we were hit by a reconnaissance company from the rear. There was no choice but to withdraw.

With my own eyes, I saw 19 of our soldiers wounded, four of them seriously, in addition to a number of fatalities. After a couple of hours, when we had retreated deep into the jungle, carrying the dead and wounded with us, the operational commander ordered the column to stop. It was then that one of the company commanders of the K.39 Battalion came up to me and said: 'Comrade Phe, you have been chosen to stay here and command the rear section. Fifteen of the wounded comrades, their porters, and everyone else will move out of this area right now.'

At first, I thought I had been chosen to cover the retreat simply because of my knowledge of the local terrain. But I was to find out quite soon that those staying behind with me, the four severely wounded soldiers and 16 others, all of them Party members, had been intended for an altogether different mission.

After a while, one of the 16 Party members informed the entire group that we were expected to inter the dead and bury alive the four badly wounded comrades. I do not remember what I said but I was evidently shocked at the announcement and those who were to be buried protested as loudly and as vehemently as they could. But the others said it was the Party's policy and could not be resisted.

To mitigate my revulsion, one of the Party members also said: 'If enemy planes were around, they would detect us and besides strafing us they would be able to count the number of casualties as a result of the recent ground action and their own strikes. That would be bad and counter to the Party propaganda line. To protect the Party we have to bury both the dead and the wounded.'

And so, they buried the dead bodies and the four wounded men, who were still breathing hard. At least two of these had their eyes wide open, turning them on each of us pleading but finding no answers.... Their eyes, I shall never forget.

The four men were dumped into a couple of fighting bunkers we found in the vici-

Relatives weep over the coffins of two Vietnamese civilians murdered by Vietcong. The Hanoi-backed Communists continue to use terrorism as a tool of warfare in their bid to impose Communist control in South Vietnam.

nity. They were dumped in a sitting position. The burial mission was speedily accomplished, after which I made a note in my diary.

It was the darkest day of my life. I had never seen anything so very bad in nine years of fighting. And even after we left the place, I found myself wondering what I would do if I should ever be in the situation of the four who had just been buried alive. Other disturbing thoughts were to come up in my mind many months after this ugly incident. In other words, I felt restless and helpless.

Just a little while before, the victims could move like any one of us. We had followed the Party faithfully. We had followed its teachings faithfully. And now, the Party was ordering us to bury its own men alive without mercy.

But I was under strict Party control and although I protested deep in my heart, I had to go ahead and do what I was told. Still, I thought I might some day be in the situation of the four men I helped to bury and I felt sorry for them and for myself, too. The thing that really changed my way of thinking was the sight of the four men I helped to bury. But a while after this, a series of three developments contributed to making it impossible for me to postpone the moment of truth.

I had been fighting in the highlands for many years without any home leave. I had always been thinking of my parents and wanted to see them badly. But when I applied for a few days of leave, my commander told me:

"If you want to see your family, you must first ask the trigger of your rifle. Your rifle has not yet killed enough American and puppet troops (ARVN soldiers) and this means that your family still is in no position to enjoy a moment of happiness. Thus, if you want to go home and see your parents, you should first go out to kill the Americans."

The second development took place soon after this lesson of revolutionary conduct. I reckon that all Vietnamese by now must have heard of the need to sacrifice one's personal happiness for the success of the Revolution.

Sometime ago, I loved a girl and I thought that my feelings for her were reciprocated. But she joined the Revolution, too, and soon was made to attend a school for officers. After she finished school, she apparently changed her mind. After telling me about the duties of Party members she broke off with me. 'Ho Chi Minh', she said, 'never got married. Who do you think you are to have a right to start a family?'

Then, came the night, when troops under my command, once more in conjunction with the K.39 Battalion, were ordered to attack an ARVN artillery base in Darlac province. I had been in this area for some time to know that the assault would cost us dearly.

So, I ordered my men to withdraw when it became evident that the longer we stayed the more casualties we would suffer without being able to achieve anything.

This point of tactics, however, was not taken lightly by my superiors, who charged me with being unrealistic and not too eager to sacrifice myself and my men for the cause. One of the cadres even told me to be on my guard for he was going to denounce me.

In reminiscing all these developments, I am still angry with the Communists. I had been with them for nine years and now they were treating me like dirt. Without any consideration whatsoever for individual human beings, they treated their soldiers like dirt. So I reasoned that it would be better to be killed on the ARVN side. On this side, at least one can expect to be buried covered in a decent piece of cloth.

On the following day, I surrendered at Dak Ly, a resettlement centre in the province of Darlac.

This is not to say, however, that I did not have my fears in changing sides the way

ir Wounded Alive

I did. In my previous fighting years, I had witnessed situations clearly indicating the Vietcong were not liked by those on this side of the barrier.

I particularly have in mind what took place at the villages of Trung Hoa. There, following a series of nasty battles in the course of which we lost many of our men, we only succeeded in occupying a couple of hamlets.

When we came into those hamlets, however, things were rather unexpected. We asked the villagers whether they had weapons and rifles. They, of course, said no, but when we turned away, they threw grenades at us. There were something like 70 of us killed or wounded in that manner.

What was rather shocking to me was that little children also fought us. They fought mainly with grenades. Apparently they had promised their mothers that they would fight the Communists.

The population of Trung Hoa was mainly composed of refugees (from North Vietnam). They had a tremendous fighting spirit. They apparently did not like anybody or anything associated with the Communists. That is the reason, I think, explaining why our troops were all scared when they received the order to attack a refugee village. They were afraid of grenades from little kids.

But to be completely truthful, the burial of wounded soldiers, the refusal of my superiors to grant me leave after nearly a decade of uninterrupted fighting, the desertion of the woman I loved, the nonsensical attack on the artillery base... were not the only factors contributing to my decision to change sides.

I had taken part in 54 battles or fights and none of them had really resulted in one hundred per cent victories for us.

A unit with which I was, the C.6, consisted of 28 people but after the battle of Chu Ty, only three were left alive. At Buon Bong, where we deployed a battalion, we had 47 casualties. In this particular case, we succeeded in removing 17 men but the others were left behind.

Most important of all these battles was the attack on the city of Ban Me Thuot during the Tet 1968 offensive. To give you an idea of the losses we suffered, let it be simply said that a 20-man unit counted only nine when all was over. In the battle of Ban Me Thuot, 1,327 of us died.

Still, when I decided to change sides, I was worried about the welcome reserved for me. I had read many leaflets sent from the sky by the Government of Vietnam but I did not believe in their contents very much.

But when I surrendered at Dak Ly and saw the faces of the people and militia-men there, I started to have some good feelings. Later, I was to find out that I had been wrong for nearly a decade of killing.

From the time I joined the Communists until the day I surrendered nine years later, I spent the best of my thinking abilities and physical energy in killing many civilians and ARVN soldiers.

And so, I told myself I would tell the people at Ban Me Thuot that I hoped the people and the nation would forgive me and be lenient to me. After all I had only been misled. I was fed much propaganda and no truth.

The reception reserved for me at Ban Me Thuot, however, literally confounded me. I was so moved I could not say anything. I wanted to be pardoned. And I was pardoned.

My only hope now is to work hard, to do anything the nation wants me to, to make up for the many mistakes I made in nearly one decade of fighting against my own people.

บ้านสองแคว

SEATO Health Station Opened

• The new SEATO-sponsored health station in Nan province, North Thailand, on its dedication day.

MEO hill tribesmen gathered at the new SEATO-sponsored health station at Ban Song Kwae in a remote area of Nan province to see SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas dedicate the facility to the health and welfare of 900 men, women and children who have been relocated there after fleeing from Communist terrorists.

The Secretary-General's speech was interpreted to the audience, which also included many Thai provincial and district officials, by Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol of the Communist Suppression Operations Command, Thailand, who accompanied

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas (right) and Lt. Gen. Saiyud Kerdphol of Communist Suppression Operations Command, Thailand, met local Meo when they visited Ban Song Kwae, Northern Thailand, for the opening of a SEATO-sponsored health station.

General Vargas on a day's tour of northern border areas on October 14.

They also visited the Agricultural College at Changwat Nan to discuss possible SEATO-assisted projects.

Upon his return to Bangkok, General Vargas said that he was gratified to report that the Ban Song Kwae health station had already treated hundreds of Meo who were suffering from malaria, intestinal complaints and other disorders.

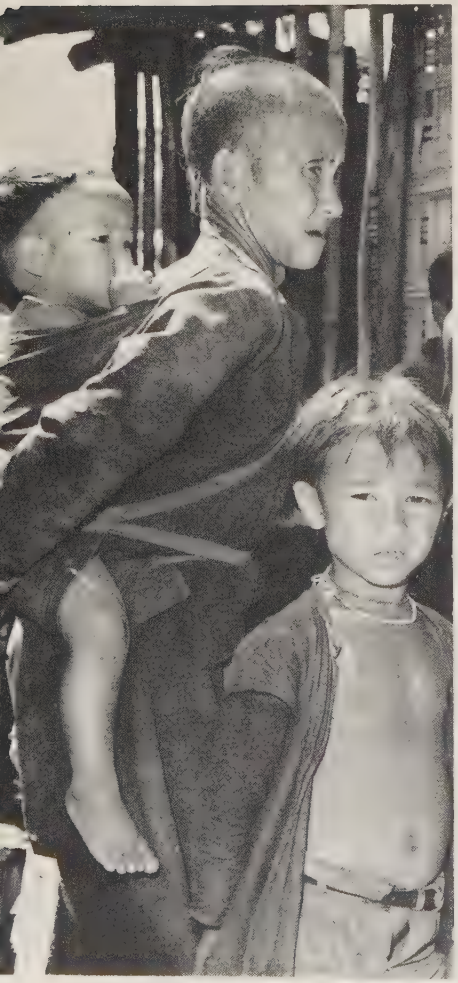
"Tribesmen from the hills surrounding Ban Song Kwae are also coming in for treatment, and advice in disease prevention," the Secretary-General added.

"This project was realized through the prompt and generous support of SEATO member countries, whose representatives voted the funds for the building and equipment needs," he continued.

SEATO assistance for the Nan refugees, including bilateral projects between Thailand and other member countries, dates from 1968, when SEATO gave 190,000 baht (US$9,100) to help resettle the tribes families. Again in 1969, 200,000 baht (US$9,550) was provided, while a SEATO cheque for 85,000 baht made the new health station possible.

Nan province has a common border with Laos of about 200 kilometres. Communist terrorists, trained in Laos and North Vietnam, have made peaceful hill-tribes flee their former homes and turn to provincial administration for help and protection.

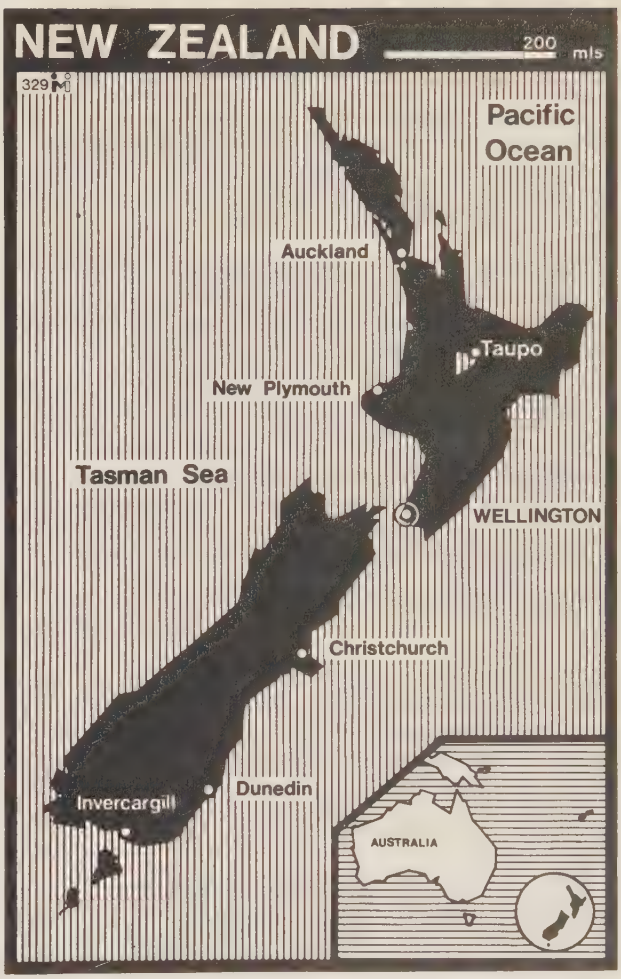
Thai health officers provided by the Department of Welfare of the Ministry of the Interior are located in four Nan province resettlement areas. ■



All the local villagers, young and old, of Ban Song Kwae, North Thailand, turned up to see the dedication of the health station which will serve the peoples of their village *(picture below)* **and the surrounding area.**

New Zealand's 'rogue' geyser refuses to be tamed

By Ross Annabell



● **Drilling work in New Zealand's volcanic area accidentally set off a geyser. Hundreds of tons of cement were pumped into the crater without success. The geyser became even more active. Now it has been accepted as a permanent attraction and, reports Gemini News Service, thousands of people are flocking to see it.**

A man-made geyser with an accompanying earthquake that shakes a square mile of land will be an attraction of a new 5000-acre tourist park being developed by the New Zealand Government near Taupo, centre of the country's volcanic belt.

The geyser, known as Bore 204, was caused by an accident during drilling operations for the Wairakei geothermal steam power station on May 3, 1960.

Volcanic steam tapped by the drilling rig about 1,200 feet below the earth's surface found an outlet around the bore casing, and suddenly burst out on to the surface. The explosion blew a crater in the ground and hurled mud and steam hundreds of feet.

The drilling crew hurriedly evacuated the site. Four hundred tons of liquid cement were pumped into the crater to try to "kill" the blow-out, but the "rogue"

went on blowing until it had become a 100 yards wide, 40 feet deep hole, with a lake of black, muddy water at the bottom.

A mud geyser, erupting every minute and a half to a height of 50 feet, developed in the lake's seething, boiling centre, and the whole area began to shake and rumble with a Force 3 earthquake.

The area has gone on shaking ever since, and the geyser has kept up its intermittent eruptions in spite of several efforts by drilling men to "tame it". For years Bore 204 was closed off to the public behind "Danger" signs and locked gates. Recently it was opened to tourists—the world's only man-made volcano in miniature.

Roped off

The crater edges wobble perpetually like a belly dancer, with cracks opening and closing in the ground. They have been roped off so that tourists can walk safely around the perimeter, gazing into the turbulent lake between eruptions.

Geologists believe it is safe enough now—after all, it has been erupting for 11 years without getting worse. Tourists rate it as one of the fantastic and frightening of the thermal attractions of New Zealand's volcanic area—better even than real live volcanoes like perpetually smoking Ngauruhoe, 60 miles down the road.

Where else in the world can you put your ear to the ground and have the ground come up and bang you on the head as it rumbles and shakes and shudders beneath your feet? Most uncanny feature of the "rogue" area is the way wild life and farmstock have adapted themselves to the weird shaking and rumbling.

Disaster

Although the earth shakes so much that car keys rattle in car ignitions half a mile from the crater, and fences and trees shake, sheep and cows graze contentedly around the perimeter. Rabbits have even made their burrows in the quaking earth mound hurled up by the original eruption.

It is unlikely, now that the bore has become a tourist money-spinner, that the government's engineers will try to tame it. Their last effort nearly ended in disaster.

The engineers built a coffer dam across the valley in which the crater lies and pumped thousands of gallons of water into the crater to try to "drown" and cool the bore. The eruptions quietened for a while, but the ground began to shake worse than before.

Then the dam burst, the water rushed out with a roar and raced towards the main highway in a torrent—and Bore 204 resumed its eruptions as merrily as before.

—GEMINI

How Malays

the you

● The drift of young jobless people from the rural areas to the towns is a problem occurring all over the world—and particularly in developing countries. One such is in Malaysia, where recently one of a series of Commonwealth conferences on the subject was held. In this article an Asian journalist reports on how land schemes and youth brigades are being used to tackle the problem in Malaysia.

MALAYSIAN youths are shovelling a future for themselves on acres and acres of land set aside for the Government's self-help programme. Eventually the land will be theirs and the future is what they will make of it.

The aim is to give purpose to the unemployed who are fit and agriculturally inclined to turn their energies to fruitful labour, clearing the land and planting cash and food crops.

The first scheme was launched in 1966. Another was started on a 900-acre site at Merbau Berdarah in Sabak Bernam in Selangor in January, 1970. A third phase on 2,300 acres nearby will be opened up soon.

Malaysia wants to cut the drift of youths from the rural areas into towns where job opportunities are scarce for those with little education. In West Malaysia at least 167,000 youths between 15 and 24 are jobless—7.8 per cent of the total unemployed population.

The Selangor scheme is the first where State land is developed by a youth organisation—the Four-B Youth Movement—with loans and subsidies from the State Government. The Four-Bs are Bersatu (Unite),

a is tackling

n problem

By

Yap Jin Neo

Belajar (Learn), Bekerja (Work), and Berkhidmat (Serve). Elsewhere the schemes are organised and managed by the State Government.

The scheme at Merbau Berdarah is also the only youth land scheme where married men prepared to stay away from their families for at least a year participate with bachelors.

The executive secretary of the movement, Enche Baharuddin Hussein, likened the Four-B Movement to a young farmers' association. He said: "In 17 months the 200 youths have already planted coconuts on 900 acres of land. Maize, bananas and vegetables planted between the coconut trees to tide them over the six years before the trees mature have already brought the settlers some income."

Phase II of the Merbau Berdarah Scheme gave priority for land ownership to 575 youths from Sabak Bernam. Eight applications were received for every acre of land.

The Ministry of National and Rural Development is also to run youth land schemes. It will mobilise annually 1,500 strong, healthy bachelor youths aged 18 to 23 years with at least some basic education and an aptitude for agricultural work. Rubber or oil palm will be the main crop of each scheme.

In the five to six years before the trees mature, the youths will work in gangs and stay in dormitories. They will be given an allowance of not more than M$10 (there are M$7.34 to the US dollar) a month and M$1.50 daily for subsistence and their mainstay in the first few years will be vegetables, fruits and poultry which they will raise and sell.

As soon as the trees start to yield, the youths will be allotted 10 acres of rubber or 10-acre shares in oil palm schemes and individual houses. They will then begin their repayment for the land and homes, the cost of development, seeds, fertilisers and maintenance of the schemes spent up to that time.

The youths will be trained initially at the National Pioneer and Development Corps Training Centre at Dusun Tua and later at agricultural training centres in their respective States.

Corps Director, Enche Mohamed Shukor says: "The youths get a basic course in para-military discipline, civics training and fieldwork ranging from house construction to weeding. The Pioneer Corps prepares youths who show particular aptitudes for a vocation in agriculture, masonry, motor mechanics, carpentry or tailoring among others."

Most boys have had some basic education. The two Corps have so far trained 9,000 youths. Most have found jobs. Recently, 500 were chosen for youth land schemes in three States.

The Training Centre can take up to 2,000 youths at any one time.

As interest quickens at all levels, the stage is set for more schemes to tap the potential of Malaysian youths. The Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) is forming youth brigades to work on its land schemes. Boys between 18 and 21 are recruited and set for three-month training at Dusun Tua before joining the brigade.

FLDA Executive Secretary Enche Kamaruzzaman Abdul Halim says that the youth brigades are aimed at providing employment for youths. "They are taken off roaming the streets to work, and at the same time learn about planting, opening up of land and other work." When the boys get married they can apply to become settlers on FLDA schemes.

With the promise of a meaningful life ahead, the new breed plough hard into the soil, pushing back forests and increasing the momentum in the changing pattern of Malaysia's agricultural landscape.— **GEMINI**

Peace Corps in Thailand

DESIGNED to meet the specific requests of the Royal Thai Government, Peace Corps Thailand has been diversified in its programming and rigorous in recruiting, training, and placing United States volunteers throughout Thailand.

In response to the high value that Thais place on academic credentials and technical skills, programme development is often dependent upon the availability of qualified volunteers with specialized training and background. There are also a variety of programmes in which volunteers having general education backgrounds are trained to fill specific jobs.

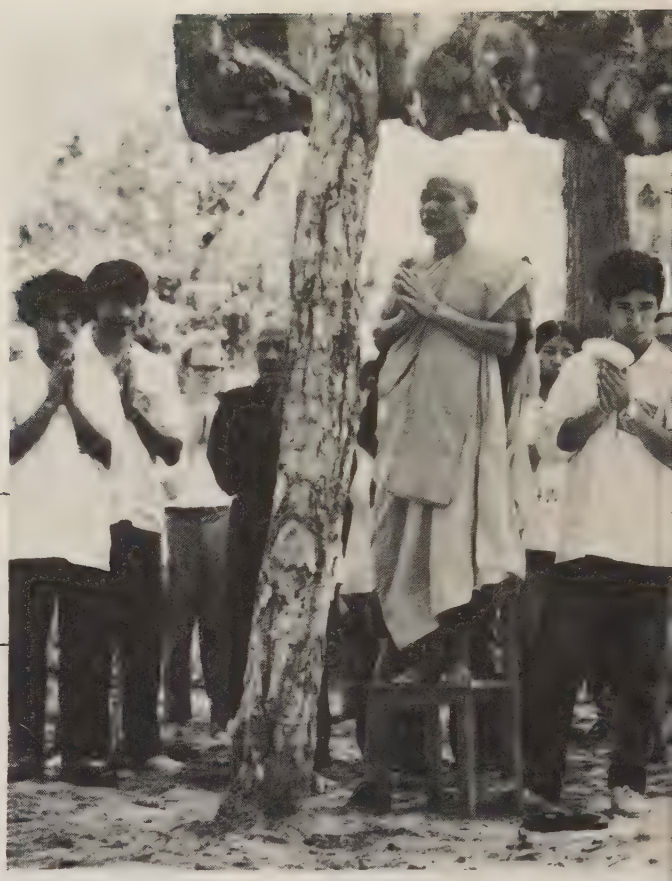
While most programmes consist of 25-40 volunteers, it is not uncommon for as few as one or two to be placed in carefully selected positions. Although the jobs and site assignments differ, they all share one common feature: volunteers are working under the auspices of the Royal Thai Government and are responsible to the same Ministry as their co-workers.

• *To newly arrived trainees, it is a curious and perhaps anxious time. Adjusting to the sights, smells and sounds is an exotic and confusing experience. Here Janet Brown strikes up a conversation, in English, with a monk in Sukhothai, Northern Thailand.*

• *Learning to communicate in Thai is essential. Carolyn Cox speaks to girls who have just performed Northern Thai dancing at a Khan Toke dinner in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand.*

• *LEFT: Peace Corps volunteer Ron Fridell being helped to read a street sign by his Thai language teacher during a field trip to Haad Yai, Southern Thailand. BELOW: A class of Corps trainees learning Thai.*

Peace Corps in Thailand



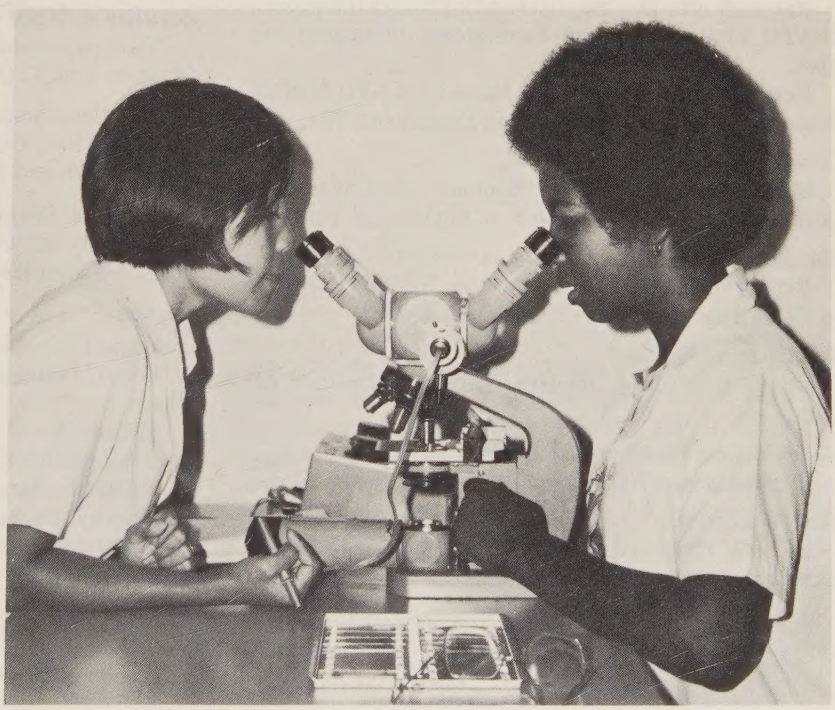
• *An opening ceremony signifies the completion of another successful school-to-school partnership programme.*

• *English is taught throughout the Thai education system. Henry Domzalski uses visual aids in a class he is taking.*

• *David Spencer gives tractor students at an agricultural colle*

• *Getting to remote areas is sometimes a very time and energy consuming business as community development worker Bill Owenby finds out.*

nance and operations classes to
rin, North East Thailand.



• *Volunteers with specialized skills work in their professional areas. Ann Hendricks works with future laboratory technicians in a Bangkok hospital.*

SEATO PUBLICATIONS

(The following publications may be obtained, on request, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarters, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand. Special consideration is given to requests from universities and other educational bodies and institutions for bulk supplies. It is, however, not always possible to meet large orders placed by individuals.)

SEATO Annual Report 1970-71 (English, Thai)
By Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai), New Edition, 1969.
Information magazine on SEATO's military and civil activities.

Manila Pact and Pacific Charter (revised 1968).
Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter.

Medical
Research into Disease–(Revised): Cholera (Pakistan–SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory) in English and Thai.

Research into Disease–III: Malaria (SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok) in English and Thai.

Community Development
Report of the SEATO Seminar on Community Development, July 19-23, 1965, in English and Thai.

The Role of Youth in Asia
Report of the SEATO Seminar on 'Youth's Response to Challenges in Asia', Feb. 13-17, 1967.

Buddhism in Thailand
By R. Bhavilai. A modern Thai's interpretation of Buddhism.

Radio Writers Handbook (English, Thai)
By Madeleine C. Meyer.

SEATO Lectures
By His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn

SEATO geared to meet challenges of the 70s (English, Thai)
An interview with SEATO Secretary-General Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas

Counter-Insurgency (English, Thai)
An abridged version of a lecture on "Counter-insurgency" given by Brig. (ret.) F.P. Serong at SEATO Headquarters in October, 1970.

Hanoi's Strategy of Terror (English, Thai)
Extracts from Douglas Pike's booklet "The Vietcong Strategy of Terror."

"Massacre at Hue" (English, Thai)
Extracts from Douglas Pike's booklet "The Vietcong Strategy of Terror."

Defeating Communist Insurgency
By Sir Robert Thompson (Thai translation)

The Changing Face of Communism
A lecture in booklet form given at SEATO Headquarters by Douglas Hyde in May, 1968.

Security in Rural Areas
Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar.

What is Communism? (English, Thai)
By Michael Davis. A straightforward explanation of Communism and its objectives.

Know Your Enemy (English, Thai)
A study of Communist tactics of infiltration and suggested counter-measures.

Posters:

Seato Cares About People (English, Thai)

Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)

Skilled Hands for National Progress (English, Thai)

Good Health Key to National Prosperity.

Highway to Health (Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca).

A Helping Hand On The Land (SEATO Agricultural Research Project).

OIS AT CHICA

BACK COVER:

The television cameras going into action at TVT Channel 5, Khon Khaen, North East Thailand, for the finals of the SEATO Quiz Programme for pre-university students from the area. The finals—attended by SEATO Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop—were won by Udon Provincial School which beat Khon Khaen Provincial School 31-30. SEATO Quiz Programmes for students are also televised from stations in Bangkok and the North and South of Thailand, as well as from stations in the Philippines. The programmes also go out over the radio.

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